



KNOWLEGE . . . LIBERTY . . . UTILITY . . . REPRESENTATION . . . RESPONSIBILITY.

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA, AUGUST 22, 1834.

NO. 6.

UTILITY.

COTTON.—No. II.

More solicitous about facts than style, on a reperusal we find our preceding article wants order, and is sometimes redundant, owing to the hurried manner of its composition—it being handed to the press as written and subject to frequent interruptions, which leads to repetition. The matter, however, will compensate for such casual defects; we shall now proceed, though perhaps we may repeat, writing without any notes.

It is of the most serious importance to the cotton planting states, and necessarily to the cotton manufacturing states, to know in advance whence, and to what probable extent they may meet competitors and rivals.

The attempt was made during the late war, by some English houses to set up *Cotton Plantations* in Brazil, which should supersede the American in the English market. The cultivation was successful, because the climate of Brazil, for nearly 20 degrees of latitude was favorable in a high degree. But the disturbed state of that country, by breaking up all order and industry, produced a great failure, owing to the defective cleaning, packing, and preserving. It is morally certain, that if those defects could be overcome, that Brazil would affect the cotton market of the world.

The countries north of the Maragnan, abound in cotton soils and plants, but the fluctuations of the colonial system, and the conflicting interests of neighbors, and scanty population render Surinam and Guyana, &c. incapable of producing any serious effect on the trade.

The desolating war which characterized the first seven years of the Venezuelan republic, deprived it of a full third of its population; and the abrogation of slavery throughout that region, changed the whole course of cultivation. But it would be a mistake to suppose that hands for labor are not to be had in those countries, and it would be equally a mistake to take for true, in relation of the native population of those countries, the very common notion that the people are feeble, lazy or disinclined to useful industry; the very reverse is their character, the people of the native race are of a very different temper and character from our North American Indians. Those of the south are gay, good natured, hardy, athletic race—and both sexes—carry burdens and make journeys on foot to market, such as would surprise a London porter. We have been assured, and have seen some evidence of the fact in practice, that no gardeners are superior to the aborigines who live in society in the valleys of the Andes.

We note these facts only to illustrate another fact consonant with our subject. The cotton of all the countries from Cumana to the Pacific, is of good quality; skill and knowledge of the best means of preserving, picking, and packing, are wanting, and such is the ease with which abundance of food and adequate raiment are obtained, that there is not an adequate motive to make experiments, or to seek improvements.

The opulent classes of Spanish descent and of the mixed race, are seven out of ten, still *hidalgoe*; they speak of liberty and independence—as men of the same calibre do in all revolutions, *liberty* is the prospect of power and place; and independence to be above all control. This is the predominant vice of all Spanish America. Few of the educated are disposed to mercantile pursuits, and the condition of the country having no roads, prevents production, by rendering the expense of transportation greater than the commodity carried would produce on a sale.

Here then are the obstacles, which prevent those regions from becoming cotton producers for commercial export. But there are English adventurers—and there are American adventurers in every variety of pursuit, gradually taking root in those rich countries; we met several in a casual progress, and many have settled, and more will find their way thither.

We have seen the cotton of Carthagena in Philadelphia, and carry a good price, though brought hither in a wretched state of packing. It was brought here at fifteen cents the pound, including all charges!

Let us again return to the most formidable rival we have to compete with us. The cotton planting of India; as we have it on the very high authority of Sir J. Malcom—and shall probably repeat some facts given before.

In February, 1829, the Court of Directors of the East India Company, called the attention of the Bombay Government to the great importance of improving the quality of cotton grown in India, looking to India for the means of rendering Great Britain independent of foreign countries for the material, upon which her most valuable manufactures depended. Nor is it as to England alone, that this object was of paramount interest. Cotton is the staple of some of the most important districts, and consequently affecting the public revenue by its improvement. A farm of 200 acres was established in the vicinity of Broach (frequent-

ly pronounced and written Baroach) a town and province of Guzerat, on the banks of the Narbuddah. The town is 25 miles from the sea. The price of labor there is about 7 pice for a male man, a woman 5 pice; and the Rupee contains 16 annas, and the anna 16 pice, so that labor is higher than in Bengal. The town contains one hundred thousand inhabitants, and is 221 miles from Bombay.

In further promotion of this object, two farms were established in the southern part of the Mahratta country, one of which at Dapooree for the cultivation of the Bourbon cotton. The sole object of these farms is for experiment on all the varieties of cotton seed, with a view to select the best for cultivation, and to introduce new habits and methods in planting and cleaning, so as to adapt it to the English market. The cotton of Guzerat, generally has no rival already but the American Brazil, and some Egyptian.

The following table shows the annual import of bales of cotton into England, with the Liverpool prices.

| Years. | American. | Brazil. | Egyptian. | Suri. |
|--------|-----------|---------|-----------|--------|
| | bales. | bales. | bales. | bales. |
| 1813 | 37,720 | a 1 4 | 13,718 | 25 |
| 1814 | 48,853 | 2 2 | 15,030 | a |
| 1815 | 203,451 | 1 8 | 91,055 | 2,567 |
| 1816 | 166,077 | 1 6 | 135,450 | 2,302 |
| 1817 | 199,669 | 1 8 | 114,518 | 8,300 |
| 1818 | 207,580 | 1 8 | 161,489 | 20,727 |
| 1819 | 205,161 | 1 1 | 125,415 | 70,894 |
| 1820 | 302,393 | 1 0 | 150,086 | 16,615 |
| 1821 | 300,070 | 0 10 | 121,085 | 11,021 |
| 1822 | 320,906 | 0 8 | 143,505 | 11,506 |
| 1823 | 452,538 | 0 9 | 144,611 | 28,752 |
| 1824 | 282,371 | 1 180 | 0 11 | 10,000 |
| 1825 | 423,446 | 0 9 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
| | 1 6 | 1 10 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
| | 55,530 | 1 10 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
| 1826 | 395,532 | 0 6 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
| 1827 | 616,766 | 0 6 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
| 1828 | 617,390 | 0 6 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
| 1829 | 444,390 | 0 6 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
| 1830 | 463,076 | 0 6 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
| 1831 | 618,527 | 0 6 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
| 1832 | 628,766 | 0 6 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
| | 14,385 | 0 7 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
| | 148,288 | 0 7 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
| | 191,468 | 0 7 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
| | 608,857 | 0 7 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
| | 628,766 | 0 7 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
| | 0 7 | 1 10 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
| | 14,385 | 0 7 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
| | 148,288 | 0 7 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
| | 191,468 | 0 7 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
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| | 14,385 | 0 7 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
| | 148,288 | 0 7 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
| | 191,468 | 0 7 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
| | 608,857 | 0 7 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
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| | 148,288 | 0 7 | 1 10 | 1 11 |
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| | 148,288 | | | |



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PHILADELPHIA, AUG. 22, 1834.

EVERY BODY'S BUSINESS.

The free press is every body's business—its freedom is established on the great compact of July 4, 1776. Its freedom is essential to a free state—and that freedom comprehends the right of individual judgment upon all subjects which are within the reach of the human mind. We may, by a comparison, present the freedom of the press in a point of view that is practical, and which belongs to every man's business. The press should be the communicator of facts—the advocate of truth—the vindicator of justice—the agent of public and private virtue—the promoter of knowledge—the instinct of free society—the vindicator of the injured and the innocent—the censor of social disorders—the expositor of imposture, fraud, criminals, and crimes—the sentinel that should never sleep, and who should break silence when there is an approach of danger.

These, and many more, are the proper functions of the press, as guaranteed by the Constitution.

Every man who is capable of thinking, and thinks without the constraint of prejudice or vicious prepossessions, can form an estimate of the degree of fidelity with which the press at this time is conducted in our own most free of all countries.

But, to the comparison—the press may be said to furnish food for the mind, the aliment of all social good.

The market-house, and the multitudes of providers for the aliment of the body, bestow all their skill and their unceasing labor to furnish wholesome and delicate commodities for the general consumption.

A person who should dare to introduce tainted meat—or rancid butter—or rotten eggs, and put them off as clean articles, would not only be fined, or otherwise punished and disgraced, but such an aggressor dare not show his face in the market a second time.

Here every man of common sense can make the application.

Is the putrescence of a dissolute, or the invidious treachery of a hypocritical press, less pernicious, less odious, less detestable, than the retail of poisonous viands.

We may illustrate the comparison farther at another time—though he who runs may read.

We recommend to every man who feels an honest interest in the prosperity and liberty of his country, the eloquent speech of *Henry D. Gilpin, Esq.*, which we this day publish at length—it will bear repeated reading, and with more advantage at every perusal.

The deceivers of mankind are not always aware of there being cheats: men who are brought up to the trade of swallowing, are apt to believe all men should be swallowers. A temperance society is much wanted in this department; but it would afford no funds, nor jobs, nor snug employments,—temperance is not to be expected on such terms.

A temperance bank society would be useful, if it could work; but it would require a new set of directors—those in office have become incurable.

THE PRESS IN INDIA.

In a work to which we have referred in another article, on the political circumstances of India, there is a chapter on the freedom of the press; the author is a sturdy stickler for practical restriction. We shall give an abstract, of so much as is useful or amusing, from the 6th chapter.

The author says—"Manifold as have been the misrepresentations respecting the public functionaries of India, none is more glaring than the charge of their loving darkness rather than light;" or, in fact, endeavoring to destroy the Leviathan by which England, France, and, ultimately, the world, is to be governed—the public press!

"It is a homely but a true saying, that the best proof of the pudding is in the eating of it; so, the first evidence I adduce, is a return laid before Parliament of the public English and native journals or periodicals in India, at three different periods:—

BENGAL—1814.

1. The Calcutta Government Gazette.

[There were the India Gazette, the Bengal Journal, Hurkaru, and the Asiatic Mirror, at that period, though not in this list.]

In 1820.

1. The Government Gazette.
2. The Bengal Hurkaru.
3. The India Gazette.
4. The Monthly Journal.
5. The Calcutta Journal.

In 1830.

1. The Government Gazette.
2. The Hurkaru.
3. India Gazette.
4. Monthly Journal.
5. John Bull.
6. Asiatic Observer.
7. Quarterly Oriental Review.
8. The India Military Repository.
9. The Unitarian and Christian Miscellany.
10. The Trifler.
11. The Mercury.
12. Monthly Miscellany.
13. The Directory.
14. The Spy.
15. Weekly Messenger.
16. Weekly Gleaner.
17. The Scotsman in the East.
18. The Columbian Press.
19. The Bengal Chronicle.
20. The Oriental Observer.
21. The Indian Magazine.
22. Literary Gazette.
23. Calcutta Chronicle.
24. Gospel Investigator.
25. Commercial Chronicle.
26. Bengal Herald.
27. Calcutta Gazette.
28. Kaleidescope.
29. Calcutta Register.
30. The Mirror.
31. The Annual Keepsake.
32. Calcutta Magazine.
33. Commercial Guide.

NATIVE NEWSPAPERS.

In 1814 and 1820—none.

In 1830.

1. Sumachar Chundrika, (Bengal.)
2. Sungbud Kowmoody, (Bengal.)
3. Jami Jahn Numa, (Persian.)
4. Shunnal Akbar, (Bengal.)
5. Sunachar Dursum, (Bengal and English.)
6. Sungbud Feemul Nausach, (Bengal.)
7. Bungoo Dool, (Persian, Hindustane, and Bengal.)
8. Oodunt Marhend, (Bengal.)

"These do not exhibit all the periodicals which existed between 1814 and 1820; yet several of them failed from want of support.

"There were in Calcutta in 1830—

- Five daily political newspapers,
- Six commercial, daily,
- Two tri-weekly papers,
- Three, twice a-week,
- Eight, weekly,
- Six, monthly,
- Two quarterlies, and
- Two annuals.

"A number for one city, second only to London, in the British dominions."

The Calcutta postage on a paper, for within 500 miles, two annas, (one-sixteenth of a dollar,) over 500 miles, four annas. The mail is altogether carried by men in all parts of India.

The author does not give the detail of papers at Bombay or Madras, but says their number is on the increase, particularly at Bombay, where that intelligent people, the Parsees, are eager in diffusing knowledge.

The periodicals at Madras, in 1830, were six; at Bombay, twelve, besides four native journals, one of which was a Guzerattee paper, one a Mahrattah and English, and a daily native paper.

What is very remarkable, is, that a paper was printed at Meerut, in the Paishwa's dominions, in 1831, entitled, "The Meerut, Kurnaul, and Delhi Weekly Observer;" and a lithographic press was established at Cawnpore, within fifty miles of Lucknow.

The introduction of an anecdote, in which the Editor of the Aurora was concerned, may illustrate the subject of the press and remarkable change of policy. During the Editor's residence in Bengal, the young Vizier, named Vizier Ali, had acquired very enlarged ideas from associating with officers of the army of the India Company, than whom there was no equal number superior in any country.

The young Vizier was anxious to have a press and a periodical paper at Lucknow, and consulted a gentleman who became a victim to the commands of his superior at a subsequent day. This gentleman recommended an application to the writer of this article; in short, he set out for Lucknow, and there a proposal was made for establishing a periodical journal in Persian and English; the plan was sketched, and the terms agreed upon. The recompense was splendid, and could not but establish a handsome fortune if carried into effect.

But the step had been taken without consulting the government at Calcutta; and the Vizier projector and the contingent editor were notified to proceed no farther in the enterprize. Yet, now, after a lapse of forty-two years, there is a printed journal at Meerut.

It may be interesting to connect with the anecdote, the subsequent fate of the young Vizier Ali. He was a very intelligent and spirited youth, spoke and wrote English well, and Persian "like Sadi." The spirit of his inquiries, and his manly character, had excited apprehensions, and it was determined, by the Supreme Council, to provide lodgings for him at Calcutta.

For this end, the resident minister, G. F. Cherry, was instructed, and it was determined, to seize upon him at his palace in Benares, and conduct him in state to the presidency. Mr. Cherry, with some fifteen other European gentlemen, assembled on a day notified, and Vizier Ali attended, demanding peremptorily to know for what purpose several battalions of regular troops were in motion. Mr. Cherry at once postponed his purpose, and the military movement passed off as a mere parade.

But though postponed it was not relinquished, nor were the suspicions of Vizier Ali quieted. During his education he had formed a strict friendship with some of the finest young men of that country. They were his daily inmates and his unflinching friends. When invited to a second meeting with Mr. Cherry, he disclosed his suspicions to his young comrades; and it was agreed that four only should be near his person, but that the rest, in the habits, and with the silver staff of Chubdars, should be at hand. The arrangement was complete, as will be seen. The young Vizier was never more serene or cheerful, and chatted much with all around him. Presently he inquired what was the business on which this convocation was made!

There never was a more benevolent or kinder hearted man than G. F. Cherry; but, as was his duty, he signified that the president in council, was desirous of his being near him. Whereupon the youth started from his sofa; the English gentlemen, alarmed, rushed towards the youth,

and the friends of the Vizier communicated the signal.—The unfortunate Mr. Cherry, and every one of the Europeans but a surgeon, who made good his retreat up a narrow stairs to the terrace, was put to death on the spot. The doors were completely occupied by the Vizier's friends, and they had escaped by a subterraneous passage to the side of the river, where boats were already prepared, when they crossed, elephants stood caparisoned to favor their flight; and they were some miles from the Ganges, when the catastrophe was revealed by the impatience of the military officer in command.

Vizier Ali reached the Court of the Rajepoot chief of Jeypore; he was demanded and surrendered, and carried to that cage which had been prepared for him,—and there he died of the *St. Helena complaint*. Mr. Cherry was the gentleman who recommended the editor to Vizier Ali.—We shall now return to the book from which we have drawn the first part of this article.

The author, in his zeal to vindicate the Indian rulers, enters into a comparison of the circumstances of editors in London and in India. The former, he says, "must find numerous sureties, and penalty bonds, of £500 each, before he dares print a single paper; after that, pay a stamp tax and three shillings and sixpence for every advertisement he publishes; then, if he publishes any thing called a libel, two years' imprisonment follows.

"India no bonds are required, no sureties, no stamps, no excise, no duty on advertisements. They are barely required to lodge a copy in the office of the Secretary of State, and in languages other than English, in the office of the Peian Secretary of Government, for which they are paid."

The regulations, according to the latter, were very liberal, but their interpretation was as variable as those of the lawyers on a question of law. The governor-general, Lord Mint or, possibly, Mr. Adam, temporary ruler, established a regulation which forbade any paper to be published until each article obtained the approbation of a censor.

Lord Edward Bentinck introduced a new era, and caused an article to be published in the journals, of which the following is a copy.

"The governor-general invites the communication of all suggestions tending to promote any branch of national industry—to improve commercial intercourse by land and water—to amend any defects in existing establishments—to encourage the diffusion of education and useful knowledge, and to advise the general prosperity and happiness of the British empire in India. This invitation is addressed to all native gentlemen, landholders, merchants, and others; to all Europeans in and out of service, including that useful and respectable body of men, the indigo planters, who, from the uninterrupted residence in the Mofussil, (inland,) have peculiar opportunities of forming opinions upon some of these subjects."

Notwithstanding this judicious and ingenuous course of policy, the predecessors of E. Bentinck had other notions; and the author from whom we borrow our subject, does not coincide with the notions of this communication, but approves of the summary seizure and transportation to Europe of more than twenty respectable individuals. There was a man, of much celebrity as a physician, Dr. M'Lane, treated in this summary manner; a son of the Earl Stanhope, Mr. Buckingham, now a member of the British Parliament, Captain Thomas Williamson, an old officer of the army, Colonel Salmon, and others—and the writer of this article was one of the number.

It would be uninteresting to narrate the pretexts of those arbitrary outrages, which in a single instant dispossesses the victim of his liberty and his property, by leaving it unprotected to the licentious population of a large capital.

The author urges—"The Indian authorities, while appreciating the blessings of a well-regulated press, discriminate between the use and the abuse of so powerful a lever for the support or overthrow of a government; in effecting the latter, 15,000,000 of Mohammedans, it the very least, would be ready to join."

As it is in our power to give a very striking illustration

of the freedom of the press in India, we shall give an anecdote, in which the writer happened to be a party: the story in all its details would read like a romance; we shall confine it to a mere anecdote.

It frequently happens in India that a scarcity of the general food of the natives occurs, and that grain is superabundant in one province and scarce in an adjacent country. In 1792-3 there was an extreme scarcity on the Coromandel coast; the numerous armies had consumed all that was to be found, where there is no providential economy; the harvests being two or three in a year. Rice, which was at Calcutta for a rupee the maund, brought at Madras seven to nine rupees.

In this critical moment, the supreme government being in Messrs. Stuart, Cowper, and Speke, an embargo was proclaimed. About fifty vessels, ready laden, were thus arrested, to the great consternation of the public.

In the second week of the embargo, an eminent merchant called on the Editor of *The World*, and stated that there were nine vessels lying off the Bankshall lading with rice to violate the embargo, with such other particulars as gave the matter much interest. The editor being acquainted with all the captains who traded from and to that opulent port, went on board, saw the rice, and learned the vessels were to go out with a special passport; while the fleet of ships, previously laden, were in a state of blockade by proclamation.

The editor believing that he was doing a great public service, and an act of justice to the *embargoed* owners, published the fact of those nine vessels being laden and about to depart. Little did the editor imagine, then, the kind of sin which his good intentions led him into.

Passing over intermediate incidents; in five days afterwards, the Peon of a friend placed a note to this effect in the editor's hand—

"Fort William, 4c.

"Look out! An order has been received, this moment, for a detachment of Sepahis, under *****, with orders to give you lodgings on our ramparts: send your chubdar, and let him wear a red commurband and a blue turban, and wait near my quarters. Yours,

"Bob."

In short, an appearance over the tops of the offices of his house, of about 200 glittering bayonets, rendered it necessary to be on the alert: a small change of linen was collected, and letting himself down into the garden of his neighbor, a venerable Hindoo Beebee, he interested her, obtained her palankeen, and was seated, cross-legged, in it, covered with an ample shawl, and thus conveyed through the very centre of the Sepahi detachment—the female palankeen being exempt from molestation.

Passing over the whimsical incidents that followed, the editor found himself the same evening at Chandernagore, twenty-one miles north of Calcutta, and by ten o'clock at the indigo plantation of which he was a part owner, six miles deep in the forest!

It appeared that on the morning of the military movement, there had been a naval movement, also; the *Ponsborne*, an old Indiaman, had been anchored off Fort William, intended to escort the publisher of that unfortunate paragraph to Europe. He, however, preferred the pleasures of the field until the *Ponsborne* had sailed, and then there were four or five months' time for fair play. It so happened, as the editor learned afterwards at St. Helena, that the *Ponsborne* foundered on the voyage to Europe, and was totally lost!

The editor returned to Calcutta, and all was quiet; but to his amazement the whole thing was unravelled: the nine ships were freighted by the *Banians* of Messrs. Stuart, Cowper, and Speke; and the editor had, unconsciously, spoiled their *speculation* upon the public calamities of the people of the Carnatic.

The disappointed speculators were obliged to remove the embargo; and the ships lying in Saugor roads, put to sea, and only arrived in time to avert a famine.

It may be proper to explain how such things could occur under the rule of Cornwallis, who was then governor-

general of India: but it has been before observed that the war against Tippoo was then going on, and he was at the head of the army. The government *ad interim* devolved on the supreme council, of which the Hon. Charles Stuart was the senior member, W. Cowper and Peter Speke the juniors: so that the speculators in embargo and famine, were also the movers of the *Ponsborne* Indiamen under the guns of Fort William, and the movers of the detachment of Sepahis, under Lieut. Mougach, employed to maintain the liberty of the press.

The history of this little event, in all its incidents, would have the appearance of romance; possibly it may appear at some future day with some other singular evidences of the freedom of the press in Asia.

The very occurrence which led to the editor's going to India, applies to the same subject, and as it may save the federalists the trouble of a *second inquiry*, and may explain to others who may feel a more rational curiosity, it may be explained here, as an illustration of the text.

At the period of the conflict in England, between Fox and Pitt on the government of India, Fox's measure was the most popular at Calcutta, and meetings were held by the European population there, convened by the sheriff.—That sheriff was Philip Young, Esq., a private merchant of high reputation. He presided at a meeting in which resolutions were passed condemning Mr. Pitt's Bill for the government of India.

Many months had not elapsed when Sheriff Young was told he was wanted in England! He took the hint, and arrived in London: but he was the principal proprietor and editor of the *India Gazette*, and sought a person to take charge of that establishment; his inquiries led to the engagement which led the editor to India, and afforded him the experience of so many singular and curious kinds of knowledge.

In illustrating the freedom of the press in India, facts directly arising out of individual experience are better than mere hearsays, and such we have given.

Americans do not sufficiently appreciate the independence and freedom they enjoy; we scarcely appreciate any thing properly but by contrast. General history is too vague, hypothetical, and abstract, and does not bring "home to men's business and bosoms" the means of comparison in its raw and pinching state; it is individual cases, alone, which furnish the best lessons for examples to judge upon. No man can enjoy liberty with full zest, or comprehend its blessings sufficiently, but he who has seen and lived under a despotism. The government of India is as absolute as that of Constantinople, but they do their despotism in a more genteel style. A sect of Hindoos sacrificed a living man, at certain periods, (a goat is in modern times substituted!) to expiate the god of *predestination*; they fed the oblation several weeks with the richest viands, and clothed him in the most costly apparel, and then cut off his head.

When the Bengal government takes offence at a *too free* printer, they give him an escort, and sometimes a carriage, to remove him to the place of accommodation. The apartments of a field officer, the most beautiful position in Fort William, were applied to the editor's accommodation. In December, 1794, a very elegant breakfast was served up by men forbidden to speak; two sentinels were posted at the entrance of an outer apartment, and a full-whiskered subadar was directed to remain in the sleeping-apartment, and never lose sight of the lodger. An elegant dinner, of eight courses, and a commissioned officer to partake of it,

Hospitality! all reality!

No formality.

Dungeons you never see:

And so, free and easy,

It would amaze you,

Their labors to please you

Are so full of gentility.

and some good wine, appeared on the table like Sinbad's wonders: but some fifty of both sexes had the generosity to

visit the *lodger*; no one was permitted to speak, but with the commissioned officer standing between, and all this to sustain the liberty of the press in India!

It may serve as a finish to this article, to state another result. Letters from General Erskine, uncle of the great barrister, were forwarded to Thomas Erskine, recommending the case of the Editor of the *World* to that able man's protection and counsel. The editor had applied to the Court of Directors, by memorial, soliciting indemnity and restoration of a handsome fortune destroyed by the wanton act. Upon waiting on Mr. Erskine, and exhibiting the case, this conversation, in substance, occurred.

"Pray, Mr. D. what money have you saved out of the wreck?"

"D. Nothing—but *this watch*."

"E. How did you manage to make your way to London?"

"D. Some of my friends, anticipating better than I could, contrived to place in the hands of Mr. Russell, the purser, several letters containing drafts, so that I landed at Portsmouth with about five hundred pounds."

"E. And that is all?"

"D. Yes, sir."

"E. And do you expect to contend, at law, with your £500 against the East India Company?"

"D. That, sir, is as you may advise."

"E. What do you propose doing to fill up the intervals of your time?"

"D. I write for the Telegraph, and have four guineas a-week."

"E. Well, Mr. D. no man could be more earnestly or highly spoken of than you have been to me, and to Mr. Lyon, who has also had letters concerning you: we have consulted on your case—and as he informs me you mean to return to America, it is my advice, and his too, that you abandon every idea of going to law with the East India Company. If you had a verdict, as assuredly you could not but have in the King's Bench, the Company would hang it up in Chancery,—and what would your £500 do in prosecuting a suit of, perhaps, twenty years. Take your *roleau*—I should prefer to give rather than receive from a man so plundered and wronged."

Mr. Erskine pushed across the table a *roleau* of twenty guineas that had been deposited for him: Mr. D. took Mr. Erskine's advice, and returned home in the spring of 1796.

All illustrative of the freedom of the press and Asiatic government.

There appears to be a more lively curiosity than usual, concerning the State Elections; we therefore give the periods of each, throughout the Union.

TABLE OF ELECTIONS.

| <i>State.</i> | <i>Time of Election.</i> |
|-----------------|--------------------------|
| Louisiana, | 1st Monday of July. |
| Missouri, | 1st do. Aug. |
| Illinois, | 1st do. do. |
| Indiana, | 1st do. do. |
| Kentucky, | 1st do. do. |
| Mississippi, | 1st do. do. |
| Alabama, | 1st do. do. |
| Tennessee, | 1st Thursday of do. |
| North Carolina, | In August |
| Vermont, | 1st Thesday of Sept. |
| Maine, | 2d Monday do. |
| Maryland, | 1st do. Oct. |
| Delaware, | 1st Tuesday do. |
| Pennsylvania, | 2d do. do. |
| New Jersey, | 2d do. do. |
| Ohio, | 2d do. do. |
| Georgia, | 1st do. do. |
| New York, | 1st do. do. |
| Massachusetts, | 2d do. do. |
| New Hampshire, | 2d Tuesday in March. |
| Rhode Island, | In April and Aug. |
| Connecticut, | 1st Monday in April. |
| Virginia, | In April. |
| South Carolina, | 2d Monday in Oct. |

The Representatives to Congress are elected by general ticket in New Hampshire, Connecticut, New Jersey, Georgia, Illinois, Mississippi, and Missouri.

EVENTS IN ENGLAND.

In our fifth number, we gave a very lively and well reported sketch of that kind of debate, which in parliamentary language is called a *conversation*. It was between D. O'Connell and Mr. Lyttleton, the official minister or secretary for Ireland.

Novel, bold, significant, and characteristic as that conversation was, we had not anticipated that it would lead to a dissolution of the ministry, as has actually been the effect.

The mode of its operation was this. Mr. Lyttleton in the abundance of his subtlety, had let out that he was opposed to the Irish Coercion Bill, and that in this opinion he was fortified by the Lord Lieutenant (Wellesley) being of the same opinion. This fact came out in the *conversation*, and it appears, was considered by some members of the cabinet, as a violation of official confidence by the Secretary for Ireland. In this light Lord Althorp chancellor of the Exchequer, and the ministerial leader in the House of Commons, considered it. The story was thus unravelled in a debate in the Lords.

Wednesday, July 9th.

Earl Grey rose and attempted to address the House, but was so much overpowered by his feelings that he was obliged to resume his seat. The Duke of Wellington, with the view of giving time to the noble earl to recover himself, presented several petitions in favor of the Established Church. Earl Grey again rose, and apologised for the excess of feeling which he had shown, proceeded to explain the cause of his resignation. Communications which had passed between himself and the noble marquis at the head of the Irish government, which he described as private communications to himself personally, and not as a minister, and stated that up to the 23d of June, there was no doubt in the opinion of the whole cabinet that the renewal of the coercion act was indispensable for the safety of Ireland.

On the 23d of June he received a private and confidential letter from the noble marquis, which appeared to have been produced not so much by any original view taken by that illustrious person of the state of Ireland, as by considerations which had been suggested to him by others without his (Earl Grey's) knowledge and privity, affecting the political state of the country rather than the state of Ireland. He lost no time in writing to the noble marquis, and letters were subsequently received, the result of which was that the noble marquis did express an opinion, that if it would promote other objects, the three clauses of the bill in question might be dispensed with, especially if by that omission an extension of the term could be effected. From this view he found himself compelled to dissent, and he now came to state what ought never to have been made known beyond the cabinet. There had been, he could not conceal the fact, considerable difference of opinion in the cabinet, but ultimately all agreed that the bill should be introduced in the form in which he had introduced it, and this determination had since received the full sanction of the Lord Lieutenant.

It was with considerable pain and surprise that he heard the production of these private communications called for in the other House. The statements respecting them were made without his knowledge, but the effect was this: a member of the other house (O'Connell) having been put in possession of the fact of this communication, made use of it to bring a charge against government, stating that the production of these documents was absolutely necessary to justify the passing of that bill, and charging a member of the government with a breach of faith, vacillation, and inconsistency, contrary to all precedents, and the proceedings in this house. The consequence of this had been that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, (Lord Althorp) who had the conduct of the affairs of government in the other house, and who had been fully impressed with the opinion of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and who felt how much of the grounds upon which this bill was proposed, was swept from under him, felt, in consequence of what had passed in the other house, that he could not, with satisfaction to himself, continue in the situation which he then held.

The consequence was, that yesterday morning he (Lord Grey) received a letter from his noble friend, containing his resignation; and in a personal interview with him, having ascertained that his resolution was final, he submitted that resolution to his Majesty. It then became necessary for him to consider what he should do. He had long been anxious to be relieved from the labors of office, which were greater than he could bear, and this new breach having rendered it impossible to carry on the government to any useful purpose, he had determined to tender his resignation to his Majesty, which resignation had been most graciously accepted. He then took a brief review of the policy of his administration, and appealed to the people whether the pledges on which that administration had been formed, namely, peace, reform, and retrenchment, had not been fully redeemed.

The Duke of Wellington contended that the party who made the communications alluded to by the noble earl ought never to have been admitted to his Majesty's service. He was satisfied that his friend, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was fully justified in every part of the business. The statement he had made to the noble earl at the head of the government respecting the alteration in the coercion bill, was that if such and such was the state of Ireland, then the court-martial clause might be dispensed with. The noble duke then entered into a long exposition of the domestic and foreign policy of the late government, and denied that these benefits had resulted from it of which Earl Grey has spoken.

The Lord Chancellor deprecated the remarks of the noble duke, and defended the late Prime Minister.—For himself, it should never be said of him (the Lord Chancellor) that he should be the man, at whatever hazard, who would not stand by his sovereign and the country, in whose service he had been for three

years and a half. He had tendered no resignation. (Some laughter.)

Noble lords might laugh; but he would ask, was there any thing so very merry in the present situation of ministers to cause laughter? Probably the noble lords so indulging themselves would have no objection to take part in the new administration; no, they know better, or at least if they did not, he (the Lord Chancellor) did; for he declared that nothing but an imperative sense of duty could have induced him to remain in office a single hour after the resignation of his noble friend. With respect to another retirement, viz., that of the noble lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he was of opinion that there was no occasion for such resignation, and so much the more did he regret it. The report was then brought up and the house adjourned.

On the same day in the House of Commons, when Lord Althorp (Chancellor of the Exchequer) rose, a most perfect silence prevailed.

Lord Althorp addressed the House:—Sir, I have to trespass on the attention of the House, while I make a short statement which I feel it necessary to my own character to submit to it.—Sir, I have requested and have obtained his Majesty's permission to communicate the statement to the House. When the decision of the Cabinet was first required as to whether the *Coercion Act* should be renewed, I concurred in the necessity for its renewal, with the omission only of the clauses relating to Courts Martial. I did so with the greatest reluctance, and nothing would have induced me to do so, but my conviction of the absolute necessity of the case. Private and confidential communications, however, from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to individual Members of the Government, brought the subject again under the consideration of the Cabinet in the week before last. It was at this time, that the Secretary for Ireland, suggested to me the propriety of telling the Gentleman (Mr. O'Connell) that the Bill was still under consideration. I saw no harm in this, but I begged him to use extreme caution in his communication, and by no means to commit himself.

These communications from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, brought the subject again before the Cabinet. From the nature of these communications I was led to believe that the *first clauses* of the act—those, I mean, which refer to *meetings in the parts of Ireland not proclaimed*—were not essentially necessary, and that they might be omitted from the new bill without endangering the peace of Ireland. Under this impression, I objected to the renewal of these clauses. The Members for Inverness, for Cambridge, for Edinburgh, and for Coventry, agreed with me in making this objection. The Cabinet, however, decided against us, and we had to consider whether we should acquiesce in this decision, or whether we would break up the Government. We decided that it was our duty to acquiesce. Upon the most careful consideration which I have been enabled to give to this point since, I am convinced that with the imperfect knowledge we then had of what had occurred, we were right in doing. I felt, however, that in such circumstances, I might be placed in great difficulty and embarrassment during the progress of this measure through this House. But when, on Thursday last, I heard the statement of the Secretary for Ireland, and for the first time was made aware of the nature and extent of the communication which he had made to the Learned Gentleman (O'Connell) I thought it most probable that the difficulties which I should be placed, would prove to be insuperable.—The debate on Monday night, on the motion of the Learned Gentleman proved to me that they were so, and convinced me that could no longer conduct the business of Government in this House with credit to myself or with advantage to the public. I accordingly wrote that night to Lord Grey, and requested him to tender my resignation to his Majesty, which his Majesty has been graciously pleased to accept. I am authorized by my friends to whom I have alluded, to say that they approve it, and concur in the step which I have taken. I shall be extremely sorry, if the course which I have pursued on this occasion should be disapproved by my fellow-countrymen; but I should be still more grieved if it should not be approved of by that large body of Gentleman in this House, who have reposed so much confidence in [me], and who, by their handsome and steady support, have enabled me to maintain a position for which my abilities would otherwise have so little qualified me. (Great cheering.) Sir, I have now made the statement, and it may perhaps be requisite for me to add, that I shall continue to carry on the ordinary public business until my successor shall have been appointed. The Noble Lord was repeatedly cheered during his statement; and, when he sat down, the cheers were repeated with great enthusiasm.

Mr. Littleton—After the statement which has been just made by my noble friend, I am sure the House will extend its indulgence to me while I address a few observations to it. (Hear, hear.) No individual in this House was ever placed in a more painful situation than I now find myself placed in. I have committed two errors. I have committed, first, the error of having a communication with the learned gentlemen opposite, without the sanction of the head of his Majesty's Government, and I have committed the further and greater error in placing confidence in one who has proved himself so ill-deserving of it. (Hear, hear.) I must say, however, that nothing is easier, after such a thing has led to an unfortunate result, than to look back and discover the cause which it would have been more dignified and wise to follow. (Hear, hear.) I am now perfectly aware that the wisest thing for my own character and interests—perhaps the wisest thing for the interest of my friends in the Government, would have been, that I should have resigned my office the very first moment it was communicated to me, that the hopes and sincere belief had entertained that the clauses in question in the Coercion Bill would have been left out could not possibly be fulfilled. I never in my life shall forget the emotion of regret I experienced on receiving that communication; but having reflected that my resignation upon that point and at such a time, might have pow-

erfully influenced the conduct of others, and probably might produce a dissolution of the present Government, I confess I did not think that I was an individual of sufficient importance to justify me in taking a step that might lead to such consequences. (Hear, hear.)

I will candidly acknowledge that I had not sufficient courage to take a step that might produce that risk.—(Loud cheers.) I therefore resolved to do that which I hope was not dishonorable. (Cheers.) I resolved to compromise my opinion on this point, albeit that opinion was a strong and decided one, and to abstain from taking a line of conduct that might injure a Government of the principles of which I in the main most cordially approved. (Hear, hear.) My Noble Friend has observed that it was only on Thursday last he was aware of the full extent to which I had gone in my communication to the Learned Gentleman opposite. (O'Connell.) I admit that I ought to have communicated to my Noble Friend what had passed on that occasion. But be it borne in mind, that so full and so entire was the conviction in my mind, not merely that the conversation which had taken place between the Learned Gentleman and myself would go no farther, but that the clauses in question were sure to be abandoned, that the importance of doing any thing more than merely to inform my Noble Friend that a conversation of the kind had taken place had never once been present to my mind. (Hear, hear.) I shall not detain the House further than to express my desire—my most earnest anxiety—that the House may feel that in the course which I have unfortunately taken I have been actuated by no other desire than to produce the peace of a country—(Cheers, especially from the Irish Members)—which has ever, since my earliest entrance into public life, had my warmest and sincerest sympathies—(Great cheering)—and for which, be it borne in mind, I was at the time in some degree responsible. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. O'Connell said that the statements which had been just made, had been received by the House in the manner that the candid statement of an hon. gentleman ought—(Hear)—and if any person was to blame for the course which the right honorable gentleman had taken—a course dictated by his desire to obtain tranquillity for his (Mr. O'Connell's) unfortunate country—if any person, he repeated, was to blame, he (Mr. O'Connell) would infinitely prefer that a double share of the blame should be thrown upon him, than that any should be cast upon the right hon. gentleman. He was now convinced, indeed it was impossible that he should not be, that the right hon. gentleman had acted with the most perfect good faith towards him, and that the right hon. gentleman entertained at the time, an honest and sincere conviction of the truth of every word that dropped from him. (Hear.) Indeed, he considered the right honorable gentleman utterly incapable of any thing else. (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. O'Connell) did not rise to vindicate himself on this occasion, but he was sure that every one who heard him would recollect that his unfortunate countrymen had reposed in him the most unlimited confidence for the last thirty years, and that he should be the most abject of human beings if he had one thought that was not absorbed in the wish to promote their liberties and advance their interests. He would ask hon. gentlemen, before they condemned him, to recollect that if England or Scotland had been placed in the situation Ireland was, whether their first anxiety would not be to maintain that portion of the empire with which they were connected, upon a footing of equality as regarded its rights and privileges with the rest, and if he (Mr. O'Connell) had one duty greater than another to discharge, it was to see that Ireland should be their co-equal in political privileges, and constitutional rights. (Hear.) He was deeply convinced that the right honorable gentleman and the noble lord were perfectly right in deeming the renewal of the clauses of the Coercion Bill that had been diluted as utterly unnecessary for preserving the peace of Ireland.

He (Mr. O'Connell) had acted upon the suggestion then given to him in the course he had pursued. He took no merit to himself for it, but he would have been wrong if he had said a word, or if he had written a line, from which occasion might have been taken, should any agrarian disturbance have taken place, to taunt the Noble Lord and the Right Hon. Gentleman with excesses which it would be said his (Mr. O'Connell's) conduct had produced. It was only to preserve the country from that danger that he had so acted. He was not to be considered as a private individual in such a case; he did not act as such. When confidence was reposed in him he felt that he was bound not to mention names. He did not mention names, but then the House would recollect that he had to act with others, and to get others to act with him, that he had to manage others; but he would state that in that management he did not utter a word or give a hint to any person of the quarter from which he had received the intimation in question. He had merely stated, in vindication of the conduct he then pursued, that the information he had received might be confidently relied upon. He did not rise to vindicate himself. If there was blame to be cast upon any individual, he would be content to receive a double share of it. He was as anxious as any man could be for the maintenance of an administration upon liberal principles such as those professed by the four Cabinet Ministers who had been alluded to. They had his (Mr. O'Connell's) entire confidence, and he believed that they had the confidence of the country. (Loud cheers.) He thought that the strongest administration that ever was formed in this country could be formed upon the principles which those Ministers entertained, in conjunction with colleagues who would combine with them in the same sentiments, and who would give the country the full benefit and advantage of that measure of reform with which their names would be eternally associated. He begged to withdraw his motion.

In the afternoon sitting, the Speaker took the chair shortly after five o'clock, at which time the House was crowded in every part.

LORD ALTHORP then rose amidst the greatest anxiety, and said, he had to move that the House should adjourn till Thursday next. "I have to state," said his lordship, "that Lord Melbourne has received his Majesty's commands to lay before him the plan of an administration. That being the case, I should hope the House would feel that the same reasons which induced the House to adjourn during the former days, would also induce it to adjourn till Thursday, by which time the plan of the administration will be in a state to be laid before the House."

The Speaker then put the question, that the House do adjourn till Thursday next, which was seconded and agreed to.

LIVERPOOL, 6 P. M. July 16.

The Standard announces the arrival of Don Carlos in Spain. He reached Bayonne on the 8th inst. and on the following day entered Spain, where he is stated to have been extremely well received by the people.

Baron de Haber has been charged by Don Carlos to contract a loan of 125 millions of francs, or 5 million pounds sterling, which he has succeeded in effecting with one of the first houses in Paris.

PORUGAL.

The news from Lisbon relates chiefly to the health of Don Pedro, which seems to have received a considerable shock, though at the latest dates he was convalescent.—Nothing could be more alarming than the symptoms while they lasted—fever and spitting of blood; but the latest bulletin describes those symptoms as having disappeared, and calculates generally on his restoration. Gen. Bacon has been tried on the charges preferred against him by Gen. Saldanha, and, to the surprise of every one, was found guilty, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. The meeting of the Cortes was looked forward to with great anxiety.

The decree for the sale of the monastic and convent properties had excited no particular feeling, the growing public opinion appearing to be, that these abodes of superstition, idleness, and gross luxury, should be eradicated.

Letters from Northern Italy say that Don Miguel has landed on the coast of Sardinia, and immediately proceeded to the Austrian territory, whence it is inferred that he perhaps intends to seek an asylum in the imperial dominions.

BELGIUM.

Orders have been given by the Belgian Government for the immediate repair of the citadel at Antwerp.—The contract for the masonry-work has been taken by a builder of Ostend at 227,000fr.

TURKEY.

Tahir Pacha is about to be removed from the head of the fleet, and replaced by Halil Pacha, the Sultan's son-in-law, who has already once before filled the post of Capudan Pacha.—The command of the artillery will be given to Mustafa Pacha, late Governor of Tricala, and formerly Chief Secretary, whose Pashalik will be conferred on Tahir, by whom it will be considered as an honorable exile.

CONSTANTINOPLE, June 17.

Intelligence has been received to-day from Smyrna, that the English fleet of six sail of the line, four frigates, and several brigs and corvettes, has arrived off Vouria.—The corvette Scout, commanded by a son of Earl Grey, appears to have preceded it with the notice of speedy arrival. This corvette came into the Bosphorus last week. We hear nothing positive respecting the object of this fleet, which is soon to be joined by a French squadron. It is considered a demonstration against Russia. The English legation here endeavor, indeed, to propagate the idea that the object is merely to exercise the men—a statement which is doubtless as far from the truth as that according to which the destination of the two fleets is the Black Sea.

IRELAND.

At the latest advices the cholera continued to rage in Dublin with unabated violence, while not only the poor, but persons who have all the good things of this world at their command, are snatched away within a few hours after they are first attacked.

Great distress prevailed in Thurles and Tipperary, and of a population of 7,000, in the former place, it is ascertained, that no fewer than 2,460 are in absolute want of all the necessities of life.

GEOGRAPHY.

A NEW CONTINENT.

From the Tasmanian of Hobart Town, Oct. 11, 1833.

About eighteen months since, Capt. Briscoe, of the brig Tula, brought his vessel to this port for repairs. Some of our public writers pretended to doubt the authenticity of Capt. Briscoe's statement—viz. that he was then on an expedition, at the cost of a London mercantile house; indeed in this very journal, the epithet "piratical" was more than once repeated, when referring to the Tula and Lively. At the time Capt. Briscoe was with us, it became pretty generally understood, that a discovery of land of some importance had been made, but great pains were taken to keep the situation a secret. The following extract, however, will disclose the secret, so well kept by the enterprising crews of the two little vessels—

"The discovery of the land towards the South Pole, made by Capt. Briscoe, in the brig Tula, accompanied by the cutter Lively, both vessels belonging to Messrs. Enderby, extensive owners of ships in the whale fishing, has been communicated to the Royal Geographical Society.

"It is supposed that this land forms part of a vast Continent, extending from about longitude, 47—31 east, to longitude 60—29

west, or from the longitude of Madagascar round the whole of the Southern or South Pacific Ocean, as far as the longitude of Cape Horn. On the 28th February, 1832, Capt. Briscoe discovered land, and during the following month remained in the vicinity; he clearly discovered the black peaks of mountains above the snow, but he was, from the state of the weather and the ice, unable to approach nearer than about 30 miles. The Stormy Petrel was the only bird seen, and no fish. It has been named Derby's Land, longitude 47—31 E. latitude 60—30 S. An extent of about 300 miles was seen. The range of mountains E. S. E.

"In consequence of the bad state of the health of the crew, Capt. Briscoe was compelled to return into warmer latitudes. He wintered at Van Diemen's Land, and was rejoined by the cutter, from which he was separated by the stormy weather, in the high south latitudes.

"In October, 1831, he proceeded to New Zealand. In the beginning of February, 1832, he was in the immediate neighborhood of an immense iceberg, when it fell to pieces, accompanied by a tremendous noise.

"On the 4th of the same month, land was seen to the S. E. longitude 69—29, latitude 67—15. It was found to be an island near to the head land, of what may hereafter be called the Southern continent. On the island, about four miles from the shore, was a high peak (and some smaller ones,) about one third of its height was covered with a thin scattering of snow, and two thirds with snow and ice. The appearance of the peaks was peculiar—the shape was conical, but with a broad base.

"This island has been named Adelaide Island, in honor of the Queen. Mountains were seen to the South at a great distance inland, supposed about 90 miles. * On 21st February, Capt. Briscoe landed in a spacious Bay on the main land, and took possession in the name of William IV. The appearance was one of utter desolation, there being no vestige whatever of animal or vegetable life. In future, this part of the continent, if such it prove, will be known as Graham's Land."—*Sydney Monitor.*

DEMOCRATIC GENERAL WARD COMMITTEE.

The Democratic delegates of the city of Philadelphia, are requested to meet on MONDAY EVENING, September 1st, at 7½ o'clock, at the County Court House, corner of 6th and Chestnut street. The following persons compose the Committee:

UPPER DELAWARE.

| | | |
|--------------|-----------|---------------|
| G. W. Tryon, | A. Flick, | Henry Mayger, |
| A. F. Cox, | D. Barr. | |

LOWER DELAWARE.

| | | |
|------------------------|--------------|------------------|
| David Boyd, | Jno. Napier, | Wm. Gravenstine, |
| Thos. J. Laudenslager, | Wm. Vogdes. | |

HIGH STREET.

| | | |
|-----------------|----------------|-------------|
| Joseph Worrell, | James H. Cole, | Henry Korn, |
| John Briggs, | John L. Smith. | |

CHESNUT.

| | | |
|-------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Jacob Keck, | Thos. Taylor, | Wm. H. Hamilton, |
| Paul Riley, | Theodore Evans. | |

WALNUT.

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| Samuel Badger, | Joseph Snyder, | Wm. Butcher, |
| A. G. Walters, | Rowland Parry. | |

DOCK.

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| Thos. Roney, | Fred. Stoever, | Joseph Burden, |
| Jno. M. Read, | J. A. Phillips. | |

NEW MARKET.

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| Chas. Shaw, | Hugh Catherwood, | Alex. Diamond, |
| Robert Lyndall, | Alex. E. Dougherty. | |

PINE.

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| James Porter, | Isaac Mount, | Michael Nisbet, |
| P. S. Carver, | Wm. K. Bradshaw. | |

CEDAR.

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| Thomas Black, | John T. Ash, | Joshua Andrews, |
| John D. Miles, | John Dinniny. | |

LOCUST.

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| Christian Kneass, | John K. Johnson, | Benj. Mifflin, |
| John Rutherford, jr. | John Benner. | |

SOUTH.

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| Thomas Cave, | George Smith, | V. L. Bradford, |
| Thos. B. Town, | William Headman. | |

MIDDLE.

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| Thos. Hopkins, | Lewis M. Troutman, | Wm. J. Leiper, |
| John V. Sloan, | Christopher Dunn. | |

NORTH.

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| Samuel Porter, | Wm. C. Patterson, | Robert Adams, |
| Wm. Nassau, jr. | Alexander Henry. | |

SOUTH MULBERRY.

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| Jacob R. Clark, | Dr. G. Spackman, | Saml. Martin, |
| Benjamin Wiley, | G. W. Williams. | |

NORTH MULBERRY.

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| Henry Simpson, | Theodore Colladay, | Joseph Yeager, |
| Wm. Lighton, | Samuel Hart. | |

THE REPUBLIC OR THE BANK.

A SPEECH

Delivered at the Democratic Celebration by the citizens of the Second Congressional District of Penn. July 4, 1834.

BY HENRY D. GILPIN.

More than eight hundred years after the foundation of Rome, a Grecian traveller, visiting the vast mistress of the world, found her citizens assembled to celebrate the day on which a band of shepherds had first traced the boundaries of the infant republic. The festival had been kept sacred through each succeeding age. The people who then embraced within their extended empire, all the nations of the earth; who had spread the blessings of commerce, civilization, and the arts, from several little hills on the shores of the Tiber, to the remotest oceans and the wildest deserts, cherished, with sacred regard, the day when a few bold and oppressed husbandmen sought a refuge where they could establish their own institutions, and protect their own privileges, by a social compact framed among themselves. The festival was not established with the bloody rites which marked all the other days consecrated by public celebrations; no slaughtered victims stained the altars of the gods; no smoking entrails were examined by the priesthood; nothing that had life was offered to propitiate the divinities, who had watched over the birthday of Rome; but the ministers were crowned with chaplets of flowers, the people brought offerings of early fruits, and as night closed the solemnity, the streets of the city, the surrounding villages, and the rural abodes were lighted up by bonfires, and enlivened by dancing and song. Year after year, the citizens of that proud republic—their breasts imbued with the spirit of independence, and their rights of freemen guarded by the laws they had made—sacredly cherished the remembrance of that day. After the ancient energy was departed, even their descendants dwelt with conscious satisfaction on the period when the Roman people exerted their own majesty; when they successfully guarded the republican institutions against the secret or the open ambition of designing men, and from factions formed to elevate the wealthy or the proud upon the ruin of popular rights. The spirits yet uncorrupted loved to recur to the lessons of patriots who had cherished the genuine principles of freedom; to deeds where life was held a trifling sacrifice, if national honor was at stake; to laws and institutions calculated to preserve the direct and practical interference of the people, in all the measures connected with their own welfare. It was not until the remembrance of these things passed away, that the spirit of the republic was gone, and the liberties of its citizens were overthrown. It was not until immense wealth was gradually accumulated in the hands of comparatively few; till privileged associations of individuals took advantage of their powers and position to assume an influence never intended to be conferred; till the silent and stealthy, but sure and rapid, march of intrigue, of selfishness and ambition had penetrated into the very centre of popular rights—that the republic was found only to be a name, and the people in reality nothing but instruments or slaves. Then, indeed, these festivities became but an idle ceremony—idle to the thoughtless, but to those whose bosoms the love of country yet warmed, the painful emblem of a freedom that existed no more—the sad proof that if a people would guard their own power in the government of themselves, they must watch, daily and nightly, the inroads of corruption and ambition, and tear from them, before it becomes familiar to their eyes, the mask they are always ready to assume. The annual feast, which marks the birth of their republic, must not be celebrated alone with the symbols of joy—with assemblages of those who merely recall the memory of the past; but it must bring together the people to weigh well the principles on which their institutions have been formed, to review the gradual progress of events, and see whether, under any specious pretext, they have been perverted or abused; to dwell on the actual position of their affairs, and to decide whether they preserve, not merely in name, but in positive and practical efficiency, all the benefits which their forefathers intended to secure when they laid the corner stone of the republic.

We are here assembled, fellow citizens, after fifty-eight years have passed away, to celebrate the birthday of our republic. As the Romans did, we hail it with joy; we hang over us the emblems of festivity and peace; we surround the names of its founders with chaplets of flowers; and we hold their deeds and memories in warm and grateful remembrance. It would be a task fraught with pleasure—our hearts would respond to it—to celebrate their actions, to repeat the sacred traditions of their personal sacrifices and their public zeal. Beneath the shades of this grove we might dwell upon the past, recall to ourselves how our fathers acted in their days, how our beloved country has held its onward way in arts, in happiness and in fame, and how its noble institutions, and the lofty character of its sons have made it, even in this early time of its history, among the fairest of human things. But such a celebration would evince a vain and weak, if even a pardonable, feeling. It would be to let slip, in thoughtless ceremonies, the period for performing an important and patriotic duty. If we have not the same cause for bold and vigorous conduct which animated the sages of 1776, we have other duties equally sacred to perform. It was theirs to preserve hallowed rights, republican institutions, the principles of a fierce democracy from a foreign foe. It is ours to see that all these are now as safe as they were at the moment our ancestors saved them from that foe. What matters it to us, if we have lost the virtuous impulses from which freedom alone can spring, whether they have been yielded to the hand of violence from abroad, or sunk beneath the silent inroads of ambition of dissension, of weakness, or of corruption at home? What matters it to us, whether our liberties are avowedly lost, or whether they are subverted in effect, by policy altogether at variance with them? As in the later days of the republic of Rome, year after year, when we thus meet together, it might show us the same outward forms of government but the real, the animating spirit would be gone—the true voice of the people would be drowned by the increased and undue influence of

power, meant to be subordinate; by the combinations of a false ambition, or the interested motives of powerful classes of individuals, who would, for purposes of transient and selfish interest, forget or overlook the real welfare of their country.

The duty, then, of American citizens who assemble on the Fourth of July, is not merely to celebrate the day of their independence. It is not even mainly to do this. Their proper duty is, to examine the present, and to look forward to the future. To see that the just motives which actuated our forefathers then, actuate their descendants now. To observe whether our present measures and policy are founded on, and sustain them. To watch the conduct of those who have been elevated to offices of trust, confidence and honor. To examine the career and explore the designs of ambitious men, who aim at personal advancement or distinction. To pledge ourselves, with a solemnity as sacred as that of the signers of the great charter which has just been read, to do in these days, as they did then, whatever is necessary to preserve what they established, honestly and usefully, not merely in theory and name.

And never, my countrymen, on any previous anniversary of our independence, have American citizens assembled with this duty imposed upon them more sacredly than now. At no moment of our political existence, have they been required to weigh with greater care, the measures and conduct of their public men, to examine the practical results of their policy, and to revert to the great ends of social government, and the means by which they must be maintained. No foreign enemy roams along our shores, no desolating scourge hovers over our homes. Peace extends her olive wand, and heaven seems more abundant to heap on us the prosperity and the bounteous blessings it has always showered, with a gracious hand. Yet the voice of domestic strife is not silent. The halls that should be sacred to patriotic deliberation, ring with the echoes of faction. The intrigues of ambition, and the designs of avarice, are at work in every corner of the land, and the purposes of the one and the other are to be subserved amid the tumult they have conspired to excite. Yet in truth, the contest with these is never difficult, their overthrow is never doubtful, the triumph is never uncertain, when the determination is resolutely made.

Fellow citizens, factions have ever been the curse of republics. The leaders of factions have ever been the designing, the disappointed, the malignant—those who are actuated, not by a lofty, but by a low and selfish ambition. Party must, and always does, perhaps always should exist, in free governments; but it is founded on principles, it rallies men together, it sacrifices smaller objects, for the attainment of greater ends. Faction has no principle; sometimes it professes one, and at others the reverse; it is now aiming to destroy an individual, and then it becomes his accomplice, or his tool; it carries its ends by corruption, it deals in falsehoods and misrepresentation, it forms unnatural alliances, it digs the grave of patriotism, and pollutes the fountains of national honor. In the early days of our republic, the citizens of America, new to the political institutions they had framed, differed essentially as to the principles on which they were to be administered. Parties were formed on this difference; these opposing principles became the subject of anxious deliberation; and after a struggle, arduous but determined in its character, the democracy of the country nobly and signally prevailed. The republican party became avowedly triumphant; the ranks of its opponents dwindled into a small minority of the people. A course of policy, distinguished by the reduction of the public debt, the abolition of the Bank of the United States, the security of the navigation of the Mississippi, and the extension of our boundaries to the great western ocean, was rendered more illustrious by the glories of a war in which our flag waved in triumph on every ocean, and the eagle of victory perched on the standards of our armies. Throughout this long career, the mutterings of faction were not always suppressed; and the designs of ambition could not always be disguised. Many manly and generous spirits, opposed to the principles of our party, did indeed act nobly with us in the common cause of our country, but there were not wanting those, who alike in the hour of prosperity and of trial, were deaf to the voice of patriotism, though they could listen to the whispers of selfishness and ambition.

In the natural consequences of a war—the derangement of the finances, the accumulation of the public debt, the necessity of large supplies of manufactures, and the want of ready means of transportation, the opponents of the republican party saw a favorable occasion to introduce into the system of our general government, those broader views of power, which, hitherto the people had refused to approve. Many of them, honestly actuated by the belief that they were those on which our government ought to be administered, sustained them now as they had sustained them before; while ambitious leaders, found in their ranks, as in those of all political associations, saw in these topics which might be serviceably used for their own ends. Even some who maintained inflexibly original democratic sentiments, believed that a change of policy, required by the exigencies of the times, was not at variance with them. The result was the establishment of a new national bank, intended to be a useful fiscal agent, subject to strict examination and control; the protection, by a moderate tariff, of the domestic industry of the country; and the commencement of a plan of internal improvement, limited in extent, and confined to objects of evident national utility. Well were it for us, if the system so established had been maintained in the same spirit with which it was founded. Well were it, if it had not been perverted and misused to subserve political designs. The boundaries, however, were quickly overleaped; the promotion of manufactures was converted into a scheme of partisan protection designed to aid the aspirations of certain politicians; the expenditure of public money for internal improvements, became a notorious means of bargaining for the advancement of personal popularity in particular districts; and the national bank began to assume a power independent of the government, of which it was the agent, and to establish in influence over the community, which might be employed for purposes oppressive, selfish or corrupt. These consequences, gradually

developed, were at length fully displayed, during the administration of John Quincy Adams—a President having less than one-third of the electoral votes, and elevated to power against the will of the people, by means of a coalition, fortunately without a parallel in our history, a coalition with an old and avowed political rival, himself a candidate for the presidential chair, also rejected by the people. Could the consequences be doubtful? No.—The American people indignantly hurled from the offices of trust, men who had thus stolen unwarily into places of honor; the principles of the republican party were again asserted; the chief place in the government was confided to a man grown venerable in the service of his country, whose blood had been freely shed beneath her banners, whose integrity was unsullied by the breath of suspicion, whose courage and decision were equal to every crisis, and whose cherished political maxims were those that had been ever maintained by the great democratic family. Representing as he has done the sentiments of the people, carrying out their honest wishes, yielding to no motives of partisan ambition, suffering himself to be the tool of no struggling or aspiring faction, we have seen the republican party rallying round him, and extricating us from the toils into which we had been deceitfully led. Internal commerce is no longer made the instrument of politicians. The funds raised from the labors of the people, have been faithfully applied to lessen their burthens, not squandered with local, partial, and interested designs. Domestic manufactures are protected with a view to the general benefit, not so as to excite vindictive contests. The quiet majesty of the laws is upheld against the designs of defeated political aspirants, who publish under the name of democracy doctrines, which it would blush to own. The honor and fame of the American people are protected and extended over distant countries, the wrongs of our citizens redressed, claims unjustly withheld readily discharged, and new sources of wealth opened to fearless enterprise. But above all this, throughout our land, the positive and practical spirit of democracy asserts its sway; the people rule now as they ruled thirty years ago; they are redeemed from the control of interested leaders; they see the government of their choice administered by men of their choice; they are carrying on triumphantly that struggle, which, in every republic, must be periodically carried on, between the great mass of the people, honest, conscientious, and straightforward, and those who, actuated by false theories, or by a misguided ambition, or by their peculiar position, or by considerations of personal interest, are constantly at variance with them.

Such, fellow citizens, has hitherto been the progress of affairs, gradually restoring the government, in the language of Mr. Jefferson, to "its republican tack." But the work is not yet accomplished. As the contest hastens to its close, the struggle becomes more violent, and is attended with all the recklessness of anger and the fury of despair. The political events of the last eighteen months have no parallel in our domestic history. They display the last rally of a few politicians, who see close at hand the prostration of their ambitious designs; and the last struggle of a band of moneyed monopolists, who dread the inevitable termination of privileges, heedlessly conferred on them, by which their own interests have been served, at the expense of their fellow citizens. Disguise it as they may, the people of the United States know too well that this is now a contest between the democracy and the country on one hand, and, on the other, a coalition formed between political leaders already rejected by the people, and the Bank of the United States, always distrusted by them, and only tolerated from a confidence and a hope, which have now been proved to be vain. Whatever disguise is assumed, whatever name is invoked, the evident truth is this. If the clamor about executive usurpation is raised, what is it but an unfinching opposition on the part of the chief executive magistrate towards the Bank of the United States? If lamentations over popular errors are querulously uttered, what are they but a settled purpose on the part of the people to discard from their favour, Clay, Webster, or Calhoun? Yes, fellow citizens, the history of the last eighteen months, is the history of a coalition between the bank for its selfish purposes, and a few factious politicians, for their own ambitious designs. It is to put down this coalition that all our efforts should be directed; it is the last battle the republican party has now to fight; it is a cause to which, before every other, they should pledge themselves on the anniversary of the Fourth of July.

Never have the annals of a republic presented a course of conduct more presumptuous, more intemperate, more at variance with the purity of institutions, the solemnity of public assemblies, the rights of citizens—nay, the common dictates of justice, and of public and private honor, than that displayed in the combined movements of the Bank of the United States, and its instruments and associates in Congress.

Can it be doubted, that the framers of our Constitution never contemplated the existence of a corporation possessing such fearful powers, and so capable of placing itself beyond control, as the Bank of the United States? Little could they have designed that any thing, so intrinsically mean as a mere money-agent, should set itself up as the rival, nay the very master, of the people. Yet so have we permitted, year after year, this cancer to extend itself; so have we allowed this institution to advance, step by step, that we are at last startled at the power we have thoughtlessly given away—at the audacity a creature has ventured to assume, against those to whom it owes its existence. How frightful in its power; how imprudent its audacity! The fortunes of our citizens are elevated or depressed at its nod; the press is made silent or abusive at its decree; the laws of the land are perverted by sophistry, or boldly violated to suit its purposes; the chosen officers of the American people are assailed with gross scurrility to gratify its malignity; and their representatives are treated with an insolent scorn, which would really be amusing, if the source whence it proceeds were alone considered, and not the precedent it may afford to every public agent. These are not matters of doubt, but they are recorded facts. They are facts which should never be forgotten. They should serve as beacons to warn the people of the dangers upon which they were

running. They should be incentives to renewed ardor in the present contest, for it is against these very things we are now contending—these very things are now to be put down, or else they may be always afterwards triumphantly perpetrated. Fellow citizens, you must forgive me if I repeat some of these facts. You have heard them before, but as the great charter of our freedom is read, over and again, every returning year, to keep its very language as well as its principles deeply impressed on our hearts, so on every occasion while our present great struggle goes on—the struggle between the country on one side, and the bank and its political allies on the other; between the too patient master and the presumptuous servant—on every occasion when we are thus assembled, these facts should be repeated, that we may perpetually see what we have been, and still are, expected submissively to bear.

Is the value of our property to be regulated—are our private fortunes to be raised or depressed—are the public revenues to be cut off—as suits the notions of a moneyed conclave, when it chooses to dabble in politics, or speculate in stocks? Every freeman would answer—No. Yet what has been the power and policy of this bank? In June, 1818, it raised its discounts to the community to \$41,000,000—in December, following, it had reduced them to \$36,000,000. In 1826, in the same manner, we find its discounts in June, \$35,000,000—in December, reduced to \$30,000,000. In December, 1830, its discounts were \$42,000,000—in May, 1832, they were increased to \$70,000,000—in the following December, they were reduced to \$61,000,000—in August, 1833, they were increased to \$64,000,000—and in December, 1833, they were reduced to \$54,000,000. In January, 1831, it had \$17,600,000, of its bank notes in circulation, sustained by \$11,000,000 of specie; in January, 1832, it had increased its circulation to \$23,000,000, while its specie was reduced to \$7,500,000. What have been the consequences of so wanton a course? Repeated periods of fallacious prosperity, and of unforeseen difficulty and suffering, among the people, who have been made the victims of this cupidity, without pity or remorse. No matter to what motives this conduct is to be ascribed—whether to erring judgment, to selfish speculation, or to political intrigue—it is such as no power, paramount or subordinate, can exercise, without endangering and destroying every thing we ought to hold dear. But when we come to examine the times and circumstances, we find its actions are directed with a view to operate on the political affairs of the country, and to affect the elections of the representatives of the people.

Bad as this is, it does not exceed the faithlessness with which, while it was throwing out its money from one end of the nation to the other, it secretly made arrangements to postpone the payment of the national debt, though it had, at the very time, sufficient public money for the purpose, in its vaults.

Growing bolder, however, it was not long content thus, under the forms of business, to cast its weight into the scale of politics. It was not enough to operate indirectly on the industry and resources of the people. The press, the fountain of information, was to be secretly pensioned, and the money of the government as well as individuals, unknown to themselves, was to be freely expended to aid the bank and its political allies. The extent to which this has been carried, and all the sums of money that have thus been lavished, are yet unknown; they are veiled mysteriously by the bank from the public eye; they are secrets it is afraid or ashamed to disclose. But may we not judge from what we do know? May we not form some estimate, from what has been already developed, in the examinations of Congress and its own confessions? Look at them!

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| The publishers of the New York Inquirer | \$52,000 |
| The publisher of the Philadelphia Inquirer | 32,000 |
| The publisher of the United States Telegraph | 20,000 |
| The publishers of the National Intelligencer | 80,000 |

To these are to be added to sums distributed to printers, in all parts of the United States, for publishing documents which are said to be for the defence of the Bank, but which, in many instances, were electioneering articles or pamphlets. This sum is admitted by the directors to amount to \$58,000, and makes an aggregate paid to subsidize the press, of nearly \$250,000! How small a proportion it may be of the whole sum thus illegally expended, time perhaps will show; how notoriously insufficient is the security given for a large part of it, is already known; but the very fact is one that must alarm every virtuous citizen.

Turn from these acts to the management of the bank itself. Does the history of any institution, in any country, present evidences of misconduct more glaring, of violations of the spirit, nay, letter of a charter, more wanton and violent? The functions of directors transferred to secret committees; loans made contrary to the rules, and on security the most worthless; the expenditure of money intrusted to an officer, without control as to amount; no vouchers required from him for the disbursements he thus makes; the correspondence seldom or never submitted to the board; in a word, all the essential duties, for which the managers of such a corporation are chosen, virtually nullified. Do the officers appointed by the President and Senate oppose these illegal acts, or refuse to conceal them from the people? They are denounced and misrepresented, though their statements cannot be refuted, in manifestos issued from the Bank. Does the Secretary of the Treasury exercise the powers given him by law, to remove the public revenue from the custody of such agents? He is attacked in language the most scurilous, officially promulgated by the Bank. Does the President of the United States express his opinions on the legality or propriety of such acts? He is assimilated to the wretched criminals who counterfeited the notes of the Bank. Do the immediate delegates of the American people, who have incorporated it, placed their money in its vaults, and own seven millions of its capital—does the House of Representatives itself, appoint a committee, at the charter authorizes, to inspect its books and examine its proceedings? They are treated with absolute contempt;

all investigation is denied; and, with charges openly made, which, if untrue, can be refuted at once, it shrinks, with the consciousness of guilt, behind the shield of legal subterfuge. Fellow citizens, why is it that these disclosures are refused? Why is it we are told the Bank should not be called on to criminate itself? Innocence never offers such a plea—it courts the light—it challenges the most searching scrutiny of the accuser. What! is it come to this—that an agent of the American people, intrusted with their public moneys, can say that he will give no account of his stewardship, because he cannot be compelled to criminate himself! Dark must be the catalogue of offences, where it is necessary to resort to a pretext such as this!

Are not these facts, thus briefly recalled to your notice, striking evidence of the importance of the political contest in which we are engaged? It is this institution, thus abused, thus corrupt, thus determined wantonly to exercise its power, thus disregarding its own charter, and setting at defiance the people, the constituted authorities, and the very laws of the land—it is this overgrown moneyed monopoly, the abuses of which we are now called upon to crush, or submit ourselves for the future to its renovated arrogance and power.

That we should do so, is its own design, and that of the desperate political leaders, who, linked with it in an unholy alliance, use it, as it uses them, to promote the interested and selfish views of one another, utterly disregarding the real welfare of the nation. To this end, all original principles, all previous views, all past antipathies, and all former preferences have been sacrificed; and on the floor of Congress, and from one end of the country to the other, a common feeling brings together those who uphold the Bank of the United States, and those, hitherto frowned on and despised by the people, who yet vainly hope, by its aid, to taste the cup of success. What a spectacle is presented! All consistency is contemptuously discarded; disunion is allowed quietly to sleep in the embraces of Federalism; the praises of the bank are chanted by lips that declaimed against it in tones of bitterness and hatred; the force-bill has become, in the eyes of those lately its denouncers, a harmless manifesto; and nullification, whose terrors were not long ago depicted in hues of blood, has dwindled to an insignificant phantom. A faction, motley and deceitful, usurps the privileges of legislative power; a political harlequin, tricked off in a hundred colors, plays his antics on the stage; and a king of shreds and patches wields his gilded truncheon, as if the American people were submissive to his sway. But already has the heartless exhibition lasted too long; already has the mask fallen off and disclosed the distorted features it was meant to conceal: already are the expected sounds of applause, converted into the murmurs of disapprobation and disgust.

Who can look back, with patience, on the proceedings of the opposition party in Congress, during the session that has closed? Who can fail to trace in it an alliance with the Bank of the United States, having for its sole objects the perpetuation of power to that institution, and the recovery of political influence for its allies? Acting on these principles, have we not seen a course of debate and partisan warfare—I cannot say legislation—hitherto unknown to our history, and I trust never to be repeated? Language, before unheard in our national halls, has been freely uttered under the sanction of legislative privilege. The President of the United States, a man whose gray hairs might have protected him from insult; whose long life devoted to his country might have saved him from wanton abuse; and, whose very position, as was known to those who abused him, took from him the opportunity to reply; this venerable man has been insulted in debate, has been the object of public censure, without the permission to defend himself, and has been refused the small right of placing, on the public records, his own vindication. The Secretary of the Treasury, a statesman of unsullied purity of character, against whose moral worth, slander cannot raise a suspicion, and whose admirable talents have been proved, on every single occasion, when his opponents ventured to meet him in argument on the measures he has proposed or sustained; this officer, whose manly firmness and sagacious judgment have won for him the ardent good wishes of his countrymen, has been fiercely attacked, where he has not the privilege to answer, and has at length been driven from the councils of his country, which he so well served and adorned, a victim to political rivals, who feared the superiority of his genius, and felt little of the loftiness of his spirit. Are the sacred institutions of our country to be thus disgraced for the purposes of political success? Are the characters of men to be attacked under the pretext of legislative privileges? Are the executive sessions of the American Senate to be turned, by an accidental majority, into the clandestine inquisition of a political junto? How is a citizen to defend himself from false aspersions, when his actions are perverted, his sentiments misrepresented, or slanders uttered against him, unknown to himself, or to which he is not allowed to reply? How is he to be protected against discussions not carried on before the face of day? Why are not the men, who thus give their votes, and pass their sentence of condemnation, called upon to make their charges where they may be fully known, and, if they can be, fairly repelled? It never was the meaning of the Constitution, it never was consistent with the feelings or spirit of the American people, that a secret conclave should pass upon its citizens unheard; should listen to the whispers of enmity or slander; should receive the letters of private informers, or be tutored by the instructions of personal malignity. As well might we witness in our republic such days as those, the most odious that history records, when three Roman candidates for power, selfishness just suppressing their bitter rivalry and distrust, met together on a little island, mutually to denounce and proscribe the spirits they could not subdue. As well might we see erected, amid the gorgeous columns of our own capitol, the lion's mouth that is now closed, even in the halls of a Venetian senate, and surrender our characters, and honor to the secret malice of political opponents or personal foes.

Nothing proves, fellow citizens, more clearly, that the contest we are now waging, is one in which these political leaders know that they are

struggling desperately for power, than the intemperate language of their debates, and the want of manly feeling displayed so repeatedly on the floor of Congress. I do not allude to the coarse slanders of the Ewings, or the Hardins, or the small politicians, who seem to be the necessary vents of that scurrility, to which refinement of sentiment, or the impulses of genius could not descend. But how great must be the stake—how imperious the acquisitions of faction—when she has compelled one who lately held the second station in the republic, to sacrifice himself on her polluted shrine? What is the proper designation of a man, who could, with no conceivable motive but malignity towards a more honored rival, state, without a blush, in the face of the American Senate, that his absence at the opening of successive sessions, was not a matter of design; could desert the political principles he had formerly avowed, and endeavor to overturn the Constitution he had by solemn oaths repeatedly pledged himself to support; could seek refuge in the peaceful halls of legislation at Washington, far from the scene of strife he had himself raised, at the very moment, when, in all human probability, his braver associates would be called on to sustain with their swords, doctrines intended to subserve his individual ambition? The terms proper to designate a course such as this, I cannot descend to use, even by following his own example, set in the august halls of legislation, and under the sanction of legislative privilege. How great must be the stake for which the Bank of the United States knows herself to be playing—how strong must be the influence she has brought to bear, in her contest with the people—how potent must be the means that great machine can employ; when, as we have seen, fellow citizens, before our own immediate eyes, she can allure from its haunts, that selfishness which never before turned from a private to a public end; never before made a voluntary sacrifice in a community, where few have failed to give their little aid, to some one cause of charity, of literature, or of art. To me it seems a circumstance, among the most degrading, in the conduct of the present leaders of the opposition, that those who have received large sums from the Bank, either as loans or as rewards for services performed, should yet feel no hesitation to record their votes as legislators in its behalf. It is true we can scarce wonder, that men so bound to an institution should impugn the motives of those who censure it, when unable to refute their allegations, or should indulge in petty slander on the one hand, or a natural, but lamentable adulation on the other. The sensibility of a generous mind must be dead, which utters the language and adopts the arts of an advocate, while holding the position of a statesman; and who would envy that coldness, real or assumed, which affects to despise an imputation founded in truth, that cannot consist with unbiased judgment, or disinterested conduct?

While the floor of Congress has thus been misused, the current business of the country has been neglected, and important measures have been suffered to sleep, week after week. Heavy expenses have been incurred during sessions occupied by this useless declamation, or vindictive attack. Large sums have been added to the contingent fund of Congress, and to the public appropriations, for the purpose of upholding the publishers of partisan newspapers. The mails have been overburdened, and the privileges of franking abused, in order to disseminate the misrepresentations that were profusely poured out. It appears, by official documents, that the publisher of the United States Telegraph, a newspaper devoted to nullification, and the organ of one portion of the opposition, received for public printing, including the cost of paper, \$106,400, in a single year, that of 1832; and that \$105,000 have been advanced for reprinting certain public documents, which is done by the publishers of the National Intelligencer, a newspaper in the immediate ownership of the Bank, and the organ of another portion of the opposition. Nay, more, although in the estimation furnished by the Secretary of the Senate, before the commencement of the session just closed, he requires the large sum of \$18,000 for printing for that body, will it be believed that he was obliged to ask, before the adjournment, an additional appropriation of \$35,500 for "printing for the current business of the Senate," making in the whole the incredible sum of \$53,500 for the printing of the Senate alone, during a single session?

I have not by me the statement of the similar expenditure, in the last long session of 1832, but I have that of the preceding one of 1830, and I find the amount paid for printing to be \$11,408 57, or \$11,000 less than the estimate of this year. Facts like these require no comment, but they must convince the people that there are other objects in printing such voluminous masses of documents, besides the mere diffusion of information among them. To the efforts thus made, by means of official situation and power and the extravagant or improper application of the public money, are to be added the attempts to spread distress throughout a prosperous community, by harangues containing statements of the situation of various districts of country, utterly at variance with the actual situation of things. The credit of institutions has been wantonly attacked, the plans of commercial enterprise have been thwarted, and month after month have been suffered to pass away, in the hope of changing the steady purpose, and misguiding the sound sense of the people.

Such, fellow citizens, is a sketch of the contest that has been waged, and the means that have been resorted to. Innumerable facts are within your recollections, illustrating them even more clearly than those to which I have referred. They prove, in a manner not to be disguised or misrepresented, the true nature of the struggle that can only be terminated by the voices of the people, given at the polls. They show that the cries so loudly raised about executive usurpation, the destruction of commercial prosperity, the violations of the constitution, the union of the purse and sword, are but idle declamation, intended to conceal the real object. What executive usurpation has there been, but the change of the public moneys from the bank of the United States to the state banks? Where has commerce been injured, except by the direct oppression of the former, and the panic purposely excited by its political

allies? What clause of the constitution has been violated? In what single instance has the property of the people been unjustly taken from them, or the hand of military violence displayed? No!—we are not to be thus deceived. We know and see the real meaning of all this. If the charter of the bank of the United States was renewed, there would be no cry of danger to the treasury. If Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, or Daniel Webster could obtain—vain hope!—the suffrages of the people, in their desperate struggle for the presidency, instead of a candidate who shall represent the principles and wishes of the vast body of the republican party, there would be no more clamour about a violated constitution. It is to obtain these ends that all this turmoil has been raised; and that the country has been, for months past, kept in this state of unceasing agitation.

And what is the result? Is the bank rechartered, to aid in the coming contest, either directly by the influence of its money, or indirectly by its fearful power over the industry and property of the people? Have the obstacles and delays of the opposition been able to prevent the passage of salutary laws, called for by the exigencies of the country? Have the commerce and internal prosperity of the land, sunk under their prophecies, their maledictions, and their unceasing efforts to injure and destroy them? No!—the spirit of the people has not been, and cannot be, either misled or put down. The noble phalanx of the Representatives, coming directly from their ranks; the bold and unflinching minority of the Senators—a minority indeed in their body, but representing a great majority of the people; the Chief Magistrate, raised to his honorable post with an enthusiasm equalled only by that displayed towards Washington and Jefferson; the spontaneous voice of the people, echoed from the hills and valleys, throughout the vast extent of the Union—these have so far carried us through this struggle against money corruption and political intrigue; and they are the guaranteees and harbingeres of triumphs yet more signal. After a debate prolonged for four months, a solemn resolution was adopted in the House of Representatives, by a majority of one hundred and thirty-three votes out of two hundred and twelve, that the bank of the United States ought not to be rechartered. In spite of every obstacle and delay; in spite of repeated threats, that obnoxious clauses and amendments would be introduced; the bills making appropriations for works of great public utility, and the continuance of the government were passed. Laws to restore the metallic currency of the country to a proper standard, and to substitute a sounder medium for that of paper, were enacted. Ample provision was made to guard the public treasure deposited in the state banks, and to secure to the government benefits in the management of its funds, at least equal to those ever obtained from the bank of the United States, without the dangers incident to the employment of that unfaithful and arrogant agent; this indeed the political combination of the Senate, had unfortunately the power to thwart, but it cannot be long before, even there, the voice of the people is heard, and their will is carried into effect.

While the true servants of the nation have thus held their onward course, and secured a noble triumph over the bank and the political factions, in the legislative halls, what have the people themselves been doing, to disapprove the calumnies and make vain the efforts of their foes? Over all our wide land, prosperity waves her wing; and every broad lake and winding river, the fertile prairies and the seats of commerce, prove that where men have properly resisted this system of alarm, the oppression of a moneyed oligarchy could be exerted only against those who inadvertently trusting it, or brought beneath its influence by accident or design, might be made directly to feel its heartless power. Yes, my countrymen, more than this, they prove, in a manner infinitely better than mere assertion or argument, that the sad lamentations and the mournful prophecies poured forth by selfish politicians, as if they uttered the oracles of truth, have been as entirely erroneous as they certainly were unpatriotic, unwise and unjust.

"I know an opinion is entertained," exclaims the senator from Massachusetts, when discounting on the sad change to be produced by removing the public moneys from his favorite bank, "among those who have the best means of forming a correct judgment, that there may be a falling off in the receipts of the customs, from a quarter to a third of the amount anticipated. It is my expectation," he afterwards adds, "that the receipts of the year will fall below the estimate, probably to the extent I have mentioned; and that this effect will be produced by no other cause, than the deranged state of things occasioned by the removal of the public moneys." Such is the mournful prophecy; how has it been fulfilled in the few months elapsed since it was made? The receipts of the first quarter of the year are produced, on the demand of these political alarmists, and they are found to establish exactly the contrary of what had been foretold. The income from the customs positively exceeded the estimate produced at the commencement of the session; that from the public lands had doubled, yes, more than doubled what it was in the preceding year; and the actual available funds in the treasury amounted to more than eleven millions of dollars.

"We have before us," exclaims a representative from Georgia, in the agony of distress, which brings the phantom of Cesar and all his tyranny before his eyes—"We have before us the prospect of a suspension of specie payments." How has the prospect been verified? Why, during the very climax of this imaginary suffering, the official returns show that there has been a clear importation into the United States, certainly of more than twelve, and probably more than fourteen, millions of dollars in silver and gold.

"The usual channels of business with the south and west are broken up," cries an honourable member from Connecticut—"the risk of loss, the uncertainty and difficulty of remittance, and the difference in the local currencies, exceed the profits of business; acceptances on consignments are stopped." One would think all commerce was at an end; that the ocean no longer brought us the products of other lands, or bore away our own; that the noble works of internal communication were utterly deserted. How tally plain facts and figures with these

pictures colored for effect? The duties on imports into New York were in the first quarter of 1833, \$3,122,000—of 1834, while this sad ruin hung over our land, \$3,249,000, or an increase of more than \$120,000; at Baltimore the increase has been more than \$70,000; at Richmond the duties have doubled; at Charleston they are nearly twice as much. The foreign arrivals at New York in the first five months of 1833 were 751—during the same period of this unhappy year they increased to 795; at Boston they were, for the same time last year, 379—this year they amount to 394. Sad evidences of the effect of removing the deposits on our foreign commerce! But the channels of internal intercourse are broken up. Let us see! How is it with the noble canals of New York? There are now navigating it 2,453 boats, being an increase upon the number registered last year of 593. At Albany and Troy, over whose desolate condition the senator from Kentucky especially mourned, the clearances this year have been 834 more than they were to the same period last year. The amount of toll received at Rochester this year, in the month of May, has exceeded the amount received during the same month last year \$2,371. The increase of toll at Brockport, whose distress memorial the senator from Massachusetts presented with the usual melancholy picture, was on the 1 June this year, \$1,300 more than on that day last year. The property cleared at Buffalo, coming from the lake which the senator from Ohio described as "a desert wast of waters," exceeded on the 15 May 1834, that cleared on the same day last year, by more than three millions of pounds. How is it with our own Pennsylvania? The tolls on our canal up to the 1 May were three times the amount received on the same day last year. Five hundred canal boats had been registered up to that time. Cotton has been brought, with inconceivable rapidity and cheapness, from the remotest parts of Tennessee to the warehouses of our merchants. Yet it was about "the ruin and desolation" of this state so flourishing, her resources so abundant and her works so noble, that one of her own representatives in Congress, uniting in the same scheme of political panic, ventured to speak. How is it with Virginia? In the midst of these times of dreadful distress, the books of subscription to the stock of the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Rail-Road have been closed, and the Commissioners announce the gratifying information that more than \$300,000 were at once subscribed; by November or December next it is believed it will be practicable to put thirty miles of it under contract; in January the contractors will be able to commence the execution of the work; and in three years it will probably be finished to Fredericksburg. How is it with our fair sister of the West? The tolls on the Miami canal were \$1,115 in May 1833; they are \$5,560 in May 1834. The tolls on the Ohio canal were \$15,735 in May 1833; they are \$25,231 in May 1834; yet, in the prophetic visions of Congress, these noble works are described as solitary and deserted.

"Produce," exclaims one honorable Senator, alluding to the interior of the state of New York—"produce has fallen in price from twenty-five to thirty-three per cent since the interference of the executive with the public revenue; and land, land itself, the great capital of the country—the form in which the vast proportion of its property consists—has fallen, within the same time, to the same extent. I receive this information from the best sources, and to which I give entire credit. Here then is a reduction of the whole property of the people, twenty-five or thirty-three per cent, a striking off at a blow, the quarter or one-third of the whole value of what they possess! Sir, is this tolerable?" I turn to a gazette published in the neighborhood of this terrific scene—and what do I see? "A farm of one hundred acres was recently sold in the town of Galen, in the county of Wayne, for \$30 per acre, in cash; this farm was valued two years ago by two discreet farmers in the neighborhood to be worth \$20 per acre; increase in value in two years 50 per cent. A farm of thirty acres, in the town of Marion, in Wayne county, was sold last fall at \$25 per acre; the purchaser has this spring sold the same farm for \$30 per acre; increase in value in six months 20 per cent. A farm in the town of Marion was sold this spring for \$30 per acre; two years ago it was valued at \$20 per acre; increase in value in two years 50 per cent. A farmer in Yates county purchased a farm at \$3,000 during the last winter, and was offered immediately afterwards \$1,000 for his bargain, being 33 1/3 per cent increase in value. A farm in Jerusalem, Yates county, which was valued last fall at \$10 per acre, has been sold this month for \$16 per acre."

Again, "How tender is the system—what dangers of explosion on any untoward event!" is the fearful foreboding of the representative from Connecticut, in regard to the state banks. We turn to the list of them throughout the Union, and find they amount to more than six hundred. We see all the engines brought to bear, to effect their destruction; the halls of Congress resounding with expressions of distrust; the newspapers advising the presentation of their notes; the bank of the United States assuming an attitude unfriendly if not hostile to many of them. Yet where is the tenderness, where the explosion? A few banks of trifling capital and mismanaged long before this terrible removal of the deposits—their very names scarcely known—are all that answer these lamentable forebodings. If laws are passed for the incorporation of new ones, an alacrity to subscribe is evinced, utterly inconsistent with any notion of excessive tenderness, any danger of explosion. I observe, during the very height of these dangerous times, evidences of confidence in them not to be mistaken. The subscriptions to the stock of the Albany City Bank amounted to \$1,142,900, being \$642,900 more than the amount of its capital; the subscriptions to the stock of the Phenix Bank, in New York, exceeded three times the amount of its capital; the subscriptions of the Commercial Bank of New York, exceeded three times the amount of its capital; the subscriptions to the stock of the Commercial Bank of New York, amounted to \$1,300,000 nearly three times the amount of its capital; the subscription to the stock of the Orleans County Bank amounted to \$680,200, exceeding its capital \$380,200; the subscriptions to the stock of the Sackett's Harbour Bank were about three times the amount of its capital. Indeed,

fellow citizens, if there is one circumstance beyond all others, that displays the solid credit, resources and integrity of the people, it is the manner in which the state banks have resisted the panic, raised mainly to crush them, and to found more effectually on their ruins the overgrown institution, whose place they are so well able to supply.

"Men could no longer fulfil their engagements by the customary means; property fell in value and thousands failed,"—is another of the exclamations of an honorable senator. I turn to the records of our courts here, and I find that the number of insolvent applicants in June 1833 was three hundred and twenty-seven, and in June 1834 was only two hundred and eighty-six. I have no means to ascertain how it may have been elsewhere, but I cannot suppose that the immediate victims and witnesses of the panic, are those who would least suffer from its power.

It were easy to trace these political and selfish alarmists through other errors equally glaring; to show that at no period have the solid resources of our country been less injured and impaired; that whatever of partial inconvenience or suffering has existed—and this, which of us who has seen, as we have, under our own eyes, instances of oppression and the effect of panic, is disposed to deny—all this has had its origin solely in the ends aimed at by the selfish coalition between the bank and its political allies, or in the means adopted to maintain them. But the task would be as useless as it is tedious. Why trace these misrepresentations through all their petty sinuosities, when it needs but to turn our eyes on the broad aspect of our land to see their falsity, and to smile at the crudity or the cunning, which could thus hope to impose on the sagacity of the American people?

But, fellow citizens, I have done. I have endeavored, as the most appropriate way of performing the part you have assigned me, in this celebration of our national anniversary, to call your attention to the present position of our country, and to see what part is to be performed by those, who cherish and would maintain the liberties that were won, and the institutions that were established, fifty-eight years ago; for I hold that to be but a vain and silly festival, which, in empty ceremony, lets slip by the preservation of solid rights and the performance of sacred duties. I have endeavored to show you, that never in those eight and fifty years, have the American people been more seriously called on to examine how they stand and what they are to do. Never was there a period when the democratic family should rally more warmly together, and sustain the ancient landmarks of their faith. Never was there a period when we ought to look more anxiously to that firm, decided, and resistless expression of popular opinion, which, however it may be reviled or underrated, will be found to be invariably just. To that decision we shall all of us cheerfully submit, whatever it may be. If it shall tell us that the system of administration adopted by our opponents was wiser than our own; if it shall give us back all the partisan protection of the American system, or sustain the fatal delusion of nullification, or permit the lavish and selfish appropriation of the public money on works not of a national character;—nay more, if it shall say that the existence of a great moneyed corporation has become an essential feature of our republic; that we must, of necessity, have among us, created by ourselves, a creature, heretofore only fabled by romance, possessing the powers of a giant, but endued not with the perception of right or wrong; that our fortunes—the fortunes of freemen—ought to be depressed or elevated at the nod of a bank; our political lessons learned from the pamphlets or newspapers it scatters abroad; our public servants, chosen by ourselves, estimated according to the thermometer of its passions or interests; our halls of legislation filled with the declamation of its agents or its debtors;—above all, if it shall justify a coalition of political aspirants, in breaking down, for their own ends, the obstacles placed by the people in the way of their ambition; condemning public officers; denying to the accused the common right, not only of trial, but even of being heard; passing in secret upon private characters; driving from the national councils men of unquestionable genius and usulid honor; delaying the progress of public business; scattering the language of dissension through the land; if, indeed, such shall be the decision of the American people, to that decision we must bow—saving to ourselves only the sad consolation that our struggle has been manly, our resolution has never faltered, our hopes have never yielded, our trust in the republican spirit of our country has never for an instant failed.

But it cannot be,—my countrymen, it cannot be. The spirit that animated our forefathers is not dead; the sons of men who risked their fortunes for their freedom, are not to be frightened at the panic of a bank; nor are the descendants of those who braved armies from abroad, to be scared by the noisy intrigues of ambition at home. Our country will go onward, as she has done, in her noble march. We shall meet together, as we now do, on many a future anniversary of our independence, to rejoice in the unmoved grandeur of our political institutions, and to confess that corruption and ambition, oppression and faction, when exposed to the view and judgment of the people, war against them alike in vain. And God grant! that, when centuries shall have rolled by, and our people are dwelling on every mountain summit, and filling every fertile plain, from the waves of one ocean to another, the stranger who shall chance to be among them, on this returning day, may behold them celebrating the festival of our nation's birth, blessed—not only with extended empire, and unbounded wealth—but blessed with that, without which it were better to dwell within narrow limits and a rugged land, a government of equal laws, of equal rights, founded, upheld, examined and controlled by the watchful spirit of the people.

MEMORANDUMS.

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